QUAKER HISTORY.

Bulletin of Friends Historical Association

(Formerly Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia)

Friends' Historical Association
Founded Twelfth Month 4, 1873
Incorporated 1874

Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia
Founded Fifth Month 16, 1904

The two societies merged Twelfth Month 1, 1923, when the older Friends' Historical Association elected to membership all the members of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia, which thereupon ceased formally to exist. The society continued under the original name and charter of incorporation.

The apostrophe was dropped from the name First Month 9, 1941.

The Bulletin has been published since 1906.

VOLUME 33-34

1944-45

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Volume 33 Number 1

Bulletin of
Friends Historical Association

JAMES KITE'S TOUR: PART II

AN UNKNOWN PASTORIUS MANUSCRIPT

JUST AMONG FRIENDS — IN 1806

CORRECTIONS TO MEMBERSHIP LIST

QUAKER RESEARCH

1944

Spring Number

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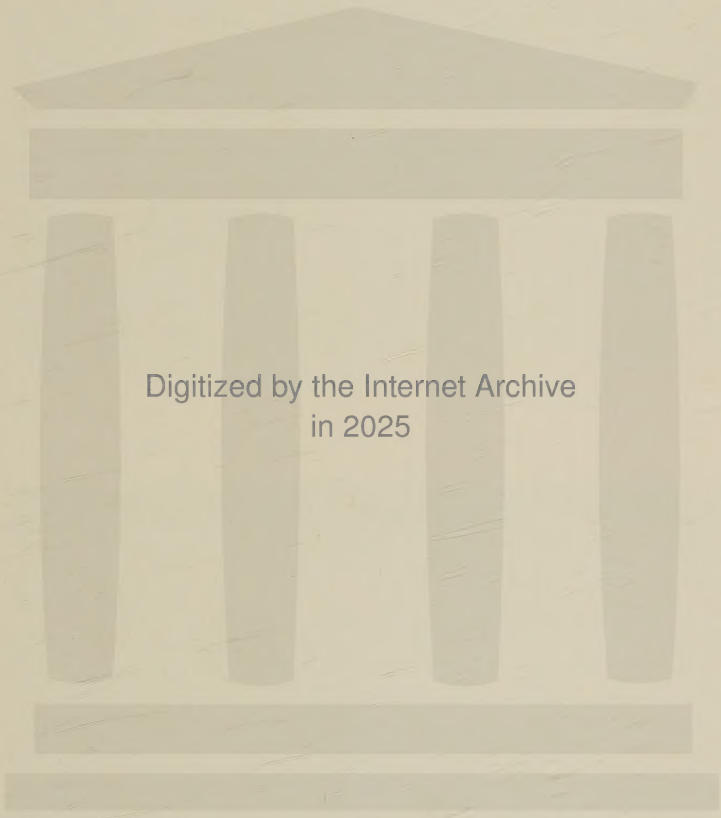
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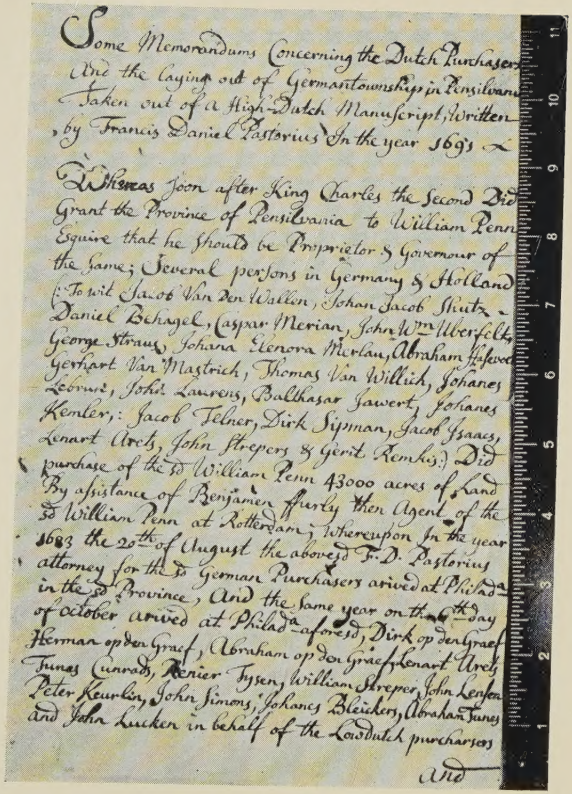
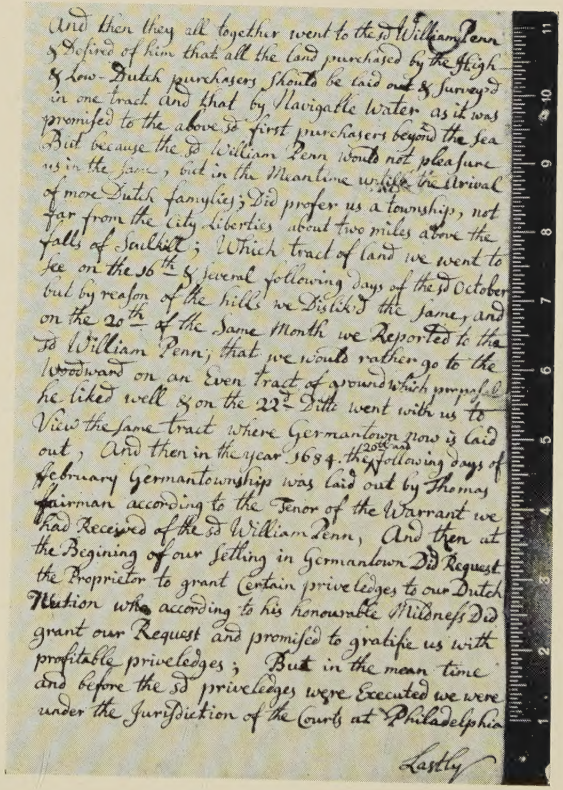


Some Memorandums Concerning the Dutch Purchasers And the laying out of Germantownships in Pensilvania Taken out of a High-Dutch Manuscript, Written by Francis Daniel Pastorius In the year 1693

Whereas Soon after King Charles the Second Did Grant the Province of Pensilvania to William Penn Esquire that he Should be Proprietor & Governour of the Same; Several persons in Germany & Holland (: To wit Jacob Van der Walln, Johan Jacob Shutz, Daniel Behagel, Caspar Merian, John Wm Uberfeld, George Strauss, Johana Elenora Merian, Abraham Jsfeve Gerhart Van Mastrich, Thomas Van Willick, Johanes Lebrun, John Laurens, Balthasar Jawert, Johanes Kemler,: Jacob Telner, Dirk Sipman, Jacob Jsaacs, Lenart Arets, John Streepers & Gerit Remkes:) Did purchase of the Sd William Penn 43000 acres of Land By assistance of Benjamin Furly then Agent of the Sd William Penn at Rotterdam; Whereupon In the year 1683 the 20th of August the aboves.d F. D. Pastorius attorney for the Sd German Purchasers arived at Philad.a in the Sd Province, And the same year on the 6th day of october arived at Philad.a aforesd, Dirk op den Graef, Herman op den Graef, Abraham op den Graef, Lenart Arets, Tunes Cunrads, Renier Tysen, William Streper, John Lensen, Peter Keurlis, John Simons, Johanes Bleickers, Abraham Tunes and John Lucken in behalf of the Lowdutch purchasers

And



And then they all together went to the Sd William Penn & Desired of him that all the land purchased by the High & Low-Dutch purchasers Should be laid out & Surveyd in one tract And that by Navigable Water as it was promised to the above Sd first purchasers beyond the Sea But because the Sd William Penn Would not pleasure us in the same, but in the Meantime with the Arrival of more Dutch familyes; Did prefer us a township, not far from the City Liberties about two miles above the falls of Sailkill; Which tract of land we went to See on the 16th & Several following days of the Sd October but by reason of the hills we Disliked the same, and on the 20th of the Same Month we Reported to the Sd William Penn; that we Would rather go to the Woodward on an Even tract of ground which pro[illegible] he liked well & on the 22d Dito went with us to View the same tract where Germantown now is Laid out, And then in the year 1684. the 20th and following days of February Germantownships was laid out by Thomas Fairman according to the Tenor of the Warrant we had Receaved of the Sd William Penn, And then at the Begining of our Setling in Germantown Did Request the Proprietor to grant Certain priveledges to our Dutch Nation who according to his honourable Mildness Did grant our Request and promised to gratifie us with profitable priveledges; But in the mean time and before the Sd priveledges were Executed we were under the Jurisdiction of the Courts at Philadelphia

Lastly

Two Pages of a Pastorius Manuscript: "Some Memorandums Concerning the Dutch Purchasers And the laying out of Germantownship in Pensilvania"

Volume 33, No. 1 Spring Number, 1944

Bulletin of Friends Historical Association

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Communications on general Association matters should be addressed to Miss Anna B. Hewitt, Secretary, Friends Historical Association, Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania; manuscripts submitted for publication, and communications on editorial matters, should be addressed to Thomas K. Brown, Jr., Editor, Bulletin of Friends Historical Association, 226 Dickinson Ave., Swarthmore, Pennsylvania.

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Dues and subscriptions should be paid to I. Thomas Steere, Treasurer, Friends Historical Association, 30 Buck Lane, Haverford, Pennsylvania.

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Elected at the annual meeting held Eleventh mo. 29, 1943

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MEMBERSHIP

Any person, whether or not a member of the Society of Friends, who is interested in the purposes of the ASSOCIATION, is eligible for membership. Applications should be sent to the Secretary. Members are especially urged to invite their friends to join, and, in case of their assent, to send their names as nominations to the Secretary.

Annual membership dues, $2.00. Life membership, $50.00.

"Perpetual Membership" has been provided for by the following amendment to the Constitution:

Upon receipt of any gift or bequest of one thousand dollars or more, the donor or the person in whose memory the fund is given shall be elected to perpetual membership. The names of such members shall be printed in all lists of membership, and if the person is deceased the name shall be followed by the words, "In Memoriam."

Volume 33, No. 1 Spring Number, 1944

Bulletin of Friends Historical Association

ANNUAL MEETING 1943 FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

THE ANNUAL MEETING of Friends Historical Association was held in the auditorium of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, on Eleventh month 29, 1943, at 8 o'clock. The business meeting was brief, as members of the Historical Society and the Welcome Society had been invited to attend the entertainment. It included the presentation of the Treasurer's report; the election of the Directors listed on the opposite page; a report on gains and losses of members, showing a membership as of that date of 580; and the President's report on the activities of the Association during the year.

The entertainment of the evening was the first exhibition in this country of a full-length British sound film entitled "The Man of Destiny," based on the early life of William Penn. The film proved to be highly diverting, and may well have served to stimulate in some the urge to find out for themselves what William Penn was really like; for the scenes as shown were somewhat fictional in content and unhistorical in perspective. Penn is shown as a dashing and romantic figure even after his conversion to the despised sect of the Quakers. When Gulielma Springett, a wealthy and much-courted young lady of fashion, comes down to the kitchen from a gay party in her house to see what is delaying the service of her guests, and finds a vagrant Quaker, Penn, whom she has never seen before, preaching to her servants, she sends him emphatically about his business; but as he goes he looks her in the eye and says, "I've just seen the girl I'm going to marry." Though he does not know it, she is waiting outside for him in a carriage when he is finally freed

after his famous trial; and so they are married. But they do not live happily ever after, for she dies just as he returns from his first trip to Pennsylvania; and he sails back to his colony without her—to seek relief from his sorrow in activity, and to keep his promise to the settlers to build a new world for them to live in. The film is said to have been released under a different title: "The Courageous Mr. Penn." It should contribute its mite toward making the world Penn-conscious at the time of the tercentenary of his birth.

THE QUINQUENNIAL INDEX to the BULLETIN, covering volumes 26-30 (1937-41), prepared by Helen Barnes Brown, is now ready, from Aberdeen to York (the Zabriskies, Zanes, Zelleys, and Zimmermans do not seem to have figured in these five volumes), and will be sent gratis on request. The cost of editing and printing was met by special contributions from many of the Association's members and friends, to whom scholars, libraries, and casual searchers may well feel much gratitude. A full index of this kind makes available to reference or research a considerable body of scholarship, and the publication of the Index makes the BULLETIN additionally welcome to libraries.

The Index includes for the first time a full listing of the items given in successive issues of the BULLETIN under the heading "Quaker Research in Progress or Unpublished," by both author and title. This entry alone, occupying more than fourteen pages, would make the Index, and the BULLETIN, interesting to students of history, especially of religious history. The Index covers not only the names of persons and places, to which too many indexes are unfortunately limited, but also subjects mentioned and books reviewed. Its general practice is to give not merely a series of unexplained page references to a given lead word, but to specify the particular point brought out at each reference. Thus the entry *Penn* occupies nearly a column, with such subordinate entries as "owned slaves," "views on taxation," "ideas on rights of ownership and of employers of labor," etc.; the entry *Whittier* covers more than a column, with subordinate entries "antislavery editorials," "a founder of the Republican party in Iowa," "attitude toward labor unions," "views on long engagements," etc.; and

the consultant can usually tell at a glance whether a given reference in a comprehensive listing is pertinent to the particular research in which he is engaged.

FOLLOWING the successful precedent of last year, the Association held a midwinter dinner on the evening of February 24, 1944, at the Whittier, Fifteenth and Cherry Streets, Philadelphia, attended by 145 members and their friends. The entertainment, in addition to that derived from chat with old friends, was provided by the President, acting as Toastmaster; and four headmasters of Quaker schools: Barclay L. Jones, of Friends Central School; John F. Gummere, of William Penn Charter School; James M. Walker, of Westtown School; and George A. Walton, of George School. The addresses, salty with many a reminiscence of schoolboy pranks and friendly with personal allusions and the personality of the speakers themselves, must have convinced many of those present that Quaker education in the environs of Philadelphia is in good hands; though if there were parents present with children about to be sent to one or another of the schools, they would have been troubled to make a choice on the basis of the showing made by the headmasters.

NOTES ON A TOUR MADE IN 1835

By James Kite

THE following section concludes the account which was begun in the preceding issue (Bulletin 32:80-86). The first installment covered the dates from June 5 to June 10, 1835, and carried the traveler from Philadelphia through Bordentown, Amboy, New York, Poughkeepsie, Nine Partners, Dover Valley, Poughkeepsie, and Albany, to Schenectady, where he was about to embark on a packet boat on the Erie Canal. He now goes along the Canal (at 2½ miles an hour) through Little Falls, Utica, and Syracuse, to Montezuma (a few miles north of the outlet of Cayuga Lake), and proceeds by boat along this lake to Ithaca, by railroad to Owego, and on foot and by hired carriage across the State line to Friendsville, in Susquehanna County, Pennsylvania, where he apparently visits for two or three days. He then starts for home, proceeding through Montrose to Tunkhannock on the Susquehanna, and following the course of the river down through Wilkesbarre, Northumberland, Juniata, Liverpool, and Harrisburg, to Columbia, where he takes a railroad to Lampeter

(a few miles southeast of Lancaster), and another railroad from there to Philadelphia.

In this installment, as in the preceding, the spelling of the original has been preserved, including such forms as *merchantdise, birth* (for *berth*), *passinger, mainger, droped* (for *dropped*), *Missippi, profanery* (for *profanity?*), *Ithica, vallies* (for *valleys*), *leisurly, Juniatta, Capital* (for *Capitol*), and *stupendious* (or perhaps *stupendrous*). *Argiment* and *splain* (for *explain*), in the conversation of the "pugnacious disputants" whom he met on the first of the days designated June 11, are presumably so written in order to reflect the pronunciation of the speaker.

The punctuation, however, has not been so exactly reproduced, for James Kite used a multitude of commas, or marks which may have resulted from a careless habit of touching his pen to paper without the intention of making a comma, which would interfere with easy reading.

Another feature of the manuscript that has not been reproduced is a series of marginal notations giving the number of miles between places mentioned in the text, or the number of miles traveled in a day. He regards Friendsville as his real destination, arriving there June 13, and making the notation of 617 miles traveled on the journey out. At the end is the notation "290 miles in" and the final summation "907 miles in all."

Perhaps a conscientious editor should add that the heading which James Kite gave his account was simply "Notes of a tour &c."

I HAD understood that a packet boat left Schn. every evening on the arrival of the cars, but I found that it had departed some hours before. This I understand was a scheme of the hotel keepers, who wished to have the passengers take tea and lodge with them. Not feeling disposed to patronize these gentry I sought a Line boat, that is one that carries merchantdise as well as passengers. This I soon found, and in a few minutes after I was fairly embarked on the great Erie Canal. On these boats, you pay 2½ cents a mile, which includes your meals. Notwithstanding it was not exactly tea hour I ventured to hint to the captain that there would be some propriety in my having tea, as my last meal was taken 14 hours before at Nine Partners, which was more than an hundred miles off, so he set his cook to work and after a time some milk warm water was forthcoming. However with a little bread it answered the purpose. The next thing to be thought of was the sleeping department, and I was not a little curious to see how this was to be brought about. There were, I think, 20 passingers about 8 of whom were females. To

accommodate these there were 2 room, one about the size of a horse stable, the other a little larger than his mainger. The latter had painted over it "Ladies Cabin." All this looked unpromising, but the captain had promised that I should be furnished with a snug birth. Accordingly, to make good his word, towards midnight he and his tall wife began to metamorphose our cabin into a bed chamber. The seats were taken up and from beneath them a quantity of frames, cords and bedding were exhumed, and presently both sides of the cabin were completely lined with shelves, the out edges of which were supported by cords from the roof. What a stew pan this must be of a warm night for human flesh to writhe in. However, as it was cool weather I did very well, excepting that I found the shoulders of my neighbor below rather hard to sleep upon. But when he turned upon his back my shelf swung almost clear of him. Judging from the size of their packing box I suppose the women must have laid as snug, as Smy[r]na figs in a drum.

11th 5th day. I rose early this morning to look out for the beauties of the surrounding country, but I found them not. I was informed that the handsome scenery was just beyond the range visible from the canal. So I turned my attention to my fellow voyagers. These, even before breakfast, began to exhibit certain suspicious symptoms; and soon after, they gradually droped around me, till in 3 or 4 hours, most of them were in a state of utter forgetfulness. Indeed I know of nothing more lulling than travelling on a canal through a dull country at the rate of 2½ miles an hour. I think it might prove effectual in some cases where even laudnum has failed. As the men began to fall about on the cushions I took down from the wall and read an excellent code of laws for the government of the boat, in which, among other things, lounging upon the seats was prohibited. But the mentalities of most of them were in no state for instruction. If *they* had framed the code they might have added this item, "Persons are earnestly requested not to travel in canal boats under the penalty of getting asleep." The following item, however, is in it, though I plead guilty to the charge of oft transgressing it without incurring the penalty. "No person is allowed

to walk the deck after dark under the penalty of being knocked off by the bridges."

There were a couple of pugnacious disputants on board, who when they chanced to be awake would fall to work to discuss metaphysics or the principles of morality. The following is a pretty fair specimen of their logic. "But I say John, I dont see the heft of that argiment you quoted from some Pope, that whatever is is right. But you had ought to see the heft of it, Joe, for spose I take and ring a pigs nose. I sees the ring and knows its through and that proves that I had ought to put it in his nose. And its what they call proving a preposition by logic. Well but, John, I knows little of logic but it seems as if a rogue might arge the same way. He picks a pocket and knows it is picked, and therefore it is right that it is so. Pshaw Jo, thats another thing tirely. But I see you cant take the heft of the argiment or Id splain it you.["] At the moment I am writing I hear them loudly discussing Man in all his relations social, civil, political, and religious. They are just settling the account between riches and poverty, and talent and imbecility. Oh! there goes Popes favorite lines again. Truly the School master is abroad and modern education on its travels. But it is empowered with ubiquity, and still keeps at home, tho' abroad.

About dusk we came into the neighborhood of Little falls, by far the most interesting spot I had seen on the canal. They are 56 miles from Schenectady. Vast rocks rise perpendicularly to a great height. The canal here is literally cut in the rock, and must have been a work of immense labor. It was an interesting scene, and to add to its splendor we had lightening, thunder and the blasting of rocks combined. The latter to form the great Erie rail road, which here runs near the canal.

11th 6th day. We reached Utica this morning at 6 o'clock. It appears to be an active thriving city. There are several manufactories in its vicinity. About 10 oclock this morning a packet boat overtook us, and I sprang upon it as it passed. We are now going apparently very fast, judging from the rapidity with which things recede, but in reality we go but about 4 miles an hour. The illusion, I suppose, arises from the nearness of the objects.

This boat appears to be a pattern of ingenuity. The canal is so narrow and the bridges so low the boats have to be built small (I believe about 10 ft wide by 70 long) and yet the one I am in has a dining room, drawing room, a Ladies cabin, a kitchen, a bar, a wash house, a provision room, crews cabin &c. At least 50 passengers can be comfortably accomodated in it. The manner in which they combine these advantages must be seen to be understood. The boys who ride the horses (drivers they are called) are frequently very young. Some of them appeared to be not more than 10 years old. As a class they are a sad set of reprobates, well skilled, in all the intricasies of iniquity. While riding at night it is not uncommon for them to fall asleep. They, however, generally stick on from habit, but occasionally fall into the canal, or are raked off by the bridges. The canal has passed for the most part of today through an uncultivated swamp, but towards evening we came to a more promising looking country. It is pleasant to get from the woods among cultivated fields. We passed the wreck of a canal boat burned some hours before by ether taking fire in her cargo. It was after dark when we reached Syracuse. It is an active place. Near it is the famous Salina lake and the great salt works. The salt manufactured here is of an excellent quality. The Packet boats pay double toll on the canal, and have the precedence of other boats in entering the locks, through which only one can pass at a time. When a line boat is near a lock, and the captain sees a packet coming, he makes great efforts to get into the lock before the other comes, within 50 yards of him, otherwise he waits. We had a chase of this kind this evening, and should have lost it, but that there happened to be a boat just coming out of the lock, so that we came up in time to enter in first, on our reserved rights. The boatman on this canal appear to be as much of one caste as those on the Missippi. Profannery among the drivers, and captains assistants, is a prominent trait. The boats appear generally to be commanded by young men, who mary and commence the matrimonial voyage literally. The wife's itinerant house keeping is confined within limits that would frighten Phil. damsels. Boats are towed with lines 120 ft. long, which in the packets are fastened to a spring, so that in case of improper

connections taking place, the line can be cast of[f] in an instant by treading on the spring. Person[s] who are not used to it are apt to be caught by the line. Ours took a raftsman by the heels carrying them almost where his head should have been, while his head took the place of his heels with a sound that made all ring again. I supposed him killed, but in five or 10 minutes he recovered so as to scratch his head and walk off. The thickness of his skull should have been measured for a curiosity. Each boat keeps to the right, and in passing the outside one drops her line an instant and the other passes over it. Every boat carries a knife edge at her bow, so that if a line is not dropt in time it is cut off, for the captain to mend at leisure. The canal horses have a peculiar habit, and step. Captain Rebe told me he tried to sleigh with them last winter, but he could not break them of their tow path gait, and they were continually looking round to see if the ropes were all clear.

12th 7th day. At 5 oclock this morning I arrived at Montezuma, which is near the outlet of Cayuga lake. There I left the packet, took breakfast, and went down the branch which connects Cayuga and Seneca lakes with the Erie Canal. About half past two oclock I embarked on board the De Wit Clinton steamer at Cayuga bridge 8 miles from Montezuma. While waiting for the boat at the bridge 5 or 6 carriage loads of Hicksites past me, on their way to attend the New Yearly Meeting near Rochester. They smiled graciously upon me, thinking doubtless I had the same object in view. The water of Cayuga lake is beautiful, of a pea green shade but very clear. The country bordering on it is celebrated for the abundance of its wheat, and has a pleasant appearance. The De Wit Clinton is an old boat, on the low pressure principle, and when she has 6 or 8 loaded canal boats in tow moves with a deliberation that gives ample time to survey the scenery. We had a fine breeze in our favor; and the cap^{n} hoisted an old sail to help us on, but presently the breze, became a gale, and then a hurricane, that took the liberty of making whip lashes of his sail. These made a delightful cracking in the tempest. The rain poured violently, but was soon over, being followed by the most splendid double rain bow I ever witnessed.

Between 9 and 10 oclock I arrived at Ithica, and lodged in a most magnificent looking edifice called the "Clinton house." Ithica is a beautiful village and finely situated. I saw less *harum scarum* about it than many New York villages exhibit.

13th. I rose a little after daylight this morning, and went to visit the falls, one mile from town, of which I had accidentally heard. It is truly one of the most magnificent views I have ever seen. The water lashed into foam by the rocks beyond comes pour[ing] over a ledge of rocks perhaps 100 ft high, looking precisely like a stream of milk. On each side of the creek, and confining it above the falls, rise perpendicular walls of solid rock at least 100 ft higher than the stream. There is a tunnel bored through one of these walls to carry water to a neighboring mill. I much wonder that tourists do not take advantage of this spot to exercise their eloquence and limners, their pencils. From Ithica I expected to have started early this morning for Montrose in the mail stage, but I found it does not run on first day. But hearing a rail car would start for Owego at 7 o'clock I concluded to go at least that far, though contrary to the advice of mine host. At 8 oclock we started on the rail road, at the head of the inclined plain, which is at an enormous height above Ithica. We were 3½ hours going to Owego, a distance of 29 miles.

This rail road is a most remarkable one. The company who projected it, broke before it was finished, and for a tempora[r]y purpose the sections have been connected together with fence rails, pieces of logs, or any thing they could lay hands. It is sometimes elevated 10 or 12 feet on very suspicious looking poles, which make the rail way truly elastic. The rails have graceful curves in every direction.

I had had no breakfast, but as it was too late for that, and too early for dinner, I took my valise in my hand, intending to dine, and hire some one to take me on at the first town I came to. I walked mile after mile and still houseless woods were around me, excepting 1 or 2 straggling [?] looking edifices; and so on for 8 miles, and still no tavern could I see. But here I came to a clearing and a house. But what was more to the purpose I perceived a snug looking horse grazing in the yard. Thinking this

Rosinante's legs were less tired than my own I entered the house and forthwith chartered them, their owner and a York dearborn and moved on for Friendsville in fine style. They took me within 3 miles of my destination, where I arrived about 7 o'clock upon my own locomotions.

Susquehanna County is somewhat improved since I last saw it but it improves very gradually.

[*A blank space of nearly two inches at this point in the manuscript suggests that the author intended to add details, perhaps of his visit in Friendsville, which he never got round to writing down.*]

16th 4th day. I commenced my journey homeward this day at 1 oclock PM, being conveyed as far a[s] Montrose, by brother John. As I arrived there some time before night I paid a visit to I B who kindly went round with me and exhibited the beauties of the village.

18th 5th day. I started in the stage this morning for Tunkhannock a few minutes after midnight and arrived there to breakfast between five and six. We had on board, a little Englishman who teased me with small fry questions amazingly. My replies were a model of brevity. Besides there were two honest hearted Germans, formerly of Pennsylvania but now of Canada, and a man remarkable for his profaneness. When he became sufficiently awake to listen I took occasion to make some remarks upon the wickedness and vulgarity of the practice, which were seconded by one of my German friends. They had good service, and produced a great change in his deportment. After breakfast we started for Wilkesbarre and arrived there about half past 12 PM. I rode outside by the driver, as is generally my custom in pleasant weather. By this means I frequently get information I should otherwise miss. We passed a very aged hermit, who had a field and hut by the road side. He was hoeing corn and looked as if the last time his face and clothes were washed was somewhere in antiquity. Vegetation in the valley of Wyoming was more backward than I anticipated. Miners are piercing the mountains for coal, with success, in every direction.

At half past 1 oclock I started from Wilkesbarre on the Pennsylvania canal, determined to see something of our own state improvements. I sat at the bow of the boat until late at night, enjoying the beautiful scenery that surrounded me. It was made up of mountains on every side, moulded into every variety of shape and figure, together with the stately Susquehanna and rich cultivated vallies. They can not be described by the pen, nor even the pencil, but must be seen, to be properly admired. The mountains are higher and more completely inaccessible than any I had before conceived of. In one place I saw a solid perpendicular wall, which was, I should think, 600 feet in height. All the strips of land between the mountains, however narrow, are cultivated and produce abundantly. Occasionally we pass small railways made to carry anthracite from the mountains.

19th 6th day. At a little after 8 this morning we reached Northumberland, at which place the boat I came in stops. As I was the only passenger on board that was going all the way through the agents of 2 opposition lines pounced upon me as their lawful prey. I kept the gentry at bay awhile and rigidly catechised them. One had a boat that would start in 10 minutes, and he would guarantee, to have me in Columbia by 9 oclock the next morning, or forfeit the passage money. The other agent exclaimed at this, how can you lie so. You know our boat, which starts 5 hours later, will pass you before you get 40 miles. And he assured me I would save time by taking their line. However I took the boat that was to start first, which had 2 passengers besides myself. Northumberland is an old place, and not much improvement is apparent in the way of building. The West and North branches of the Susquehanna here unite, and the country between them is beautiful and fertile. Sunbury, another old town, lies opposite. On the very apex of a lofty mountain, which overlooks Northumberland, stands a dwelling, erected many years ago; which is known by the name of "Masons folly," alluding to the builders name.

I found our captain, who was a good natured man, was getting on leisurly, taking about half an hour to change horses, and a quarter to get through a lock &c, so I asked him when he

expected to reach Columbia. He said the next afternoon. I then told him if he did not get there by nine oclock in the morning, I was to have a cheap passage. He seemed surprized, and began to hustle about, screamed at the boys to hurry with the horses, and it looked very much as if we were going to move. But, alas, away went the captains way bill, and hat into the canal. No pole would reach them from either shore, and he was in a quandary until a boy rowed after them in a canoe. The hat recovered away went the horses with a surge that broke the tow line, so that I felt much concerned lest the captain's temper should break to. I had a great deal of amusement, in making all hands try, how soon they could get the boat through a lock. After many efforts they at last did it in 4 minutes, which was thought to be a great achievement.

The scenery continued, if possible, increasingly fine, until hid from view by the darkness of the night. A view taken from Liverpool would make a beautiful landscape. By the time we reached the Juniatta it was quite dark and a strong breeze was blowing; which induced all hands to be especially careful in crossing the dam for the canal here changes to the east side of the Susquehanna. Soon after we had crossed it the wind began to blow tremendously, but directly in our favor, so that we accomplished 5 miles in a little more than half an hour, which is said to have been the most rapid canal navigation which has been known in the country. Travelling at this rate, when we struck the shores, or any other object, produced a jar like an earthquake. However it pleased the captain, and he began to boast that he would reach Columbia, in time to redeem the agents pledge. But, alas, when we reached Harrisburg we found that the owners of the line had left word at the lock to stop the boat till morning to take in freight. This made the captains temper snap at every link. He gave orders to disobey and push on, and then countermanded them, but finally concluded to wait.

20th 7th day. I rose by day light and finding it would take the crew an hour or more to take in 3 additional tons of freight I strolled through our seat of government to reconnoitre. It looks like quite an ordinary village, and judging from some tradesmans

signs I saw near the Capital, the school master must be at *home,* in Harrisburg. The state building is well situated, neat and plain, a substantial brick edifice.

About 6 oclock we left the seat of government and pushed onward for Columbia. When within about 10 miles of it we perceived the opposition line following hard after us. And now a hotly contested race began in which horse flesh had to suffer. Our driver was offered 2 shillings if he prevented the other boat from passing us. As the boat of the other line had much less resistance than ours, being built upon 2 narrow twin skiffs, it would soon have passed us, but that there happened to be 4 locks between us and Columbia, each of which, by great efforts, we ran into first. By this we gained at least 8 minutes, as the lock had to be filled again before they could enter. The opposition in their hurry to get on tumbled a horse into the canal twice and we, ran down a coal boat, which happened to be lying across the canal. Boats, as now constructed, under ordinary circumstances, can not go more than 5 miles the hour. If they attempt to go faster they raise a swell like a wall of water before, which the sides of the canal prevent from flowing immediately back into the wake, where there is such a lack of it, that the boat frequently scrapes the bottom. It is said that a boat can be made to ride her own swell but it has not, I believe, been done in this country.

We reached Columbia at half past 2 oclock, and entered the basin about one minute in advance of the other boat. I paid my fare notwithstanding the failure, together with some good advice to the captain, touching the agent. The latter, he said, had no right to make the promise he did, and the owners had already been informed of it at Harrisburg.

The scenery along the canal continued interesting to the end. It cannot fail, I think, to please those who are fond of the beauties of Nature.

In the afternoon I went down the Columbia rail road as far as Lambpeter, where I spent first day, and in the evening took passage in the night cars for Philadelphia. These are drawn by horses as the locomotive does not run at night. I find there is still a great opposition to steam engines upon the road. They kill so many horses and cattle.

22nd. I arrived in Phil[a] at 5 oclock this morning, after a delightful journey of 907 miles. I am aware that we are too apt to boast of things in which we have a particular interest, and think them superior to others, but I cannot help feeling more than ever pleased that I am a native of Pennsylvania, a state for which art has done much, but Nature more. Her agricultural and mineral blessings are beyond all price. While the beauty and sublimity of her mountain scenery, I can hardly believe, is surpassed by any in the world. To be sure she has no work of art so stupendious, as the Erie Canal, which, considering the state of the science of canalling at the time it was projected, and the difficulties to be overcome, I consider the greatest work ever completed in America. The water to feed it had to be drawn from so many sources, at so many levels, that persons generally at that time doubted the possibility of its success. A man I met on it told me that his father had often said he did not wish to live an hour after he should see a boat pass through his farm. He has lived to see many thousands. The rivers of Pensylvania are so located that her canals may generally run side by side with them, and therefore be constructed with less difficulty, and I think there can not fail to be business for all she may cut, for her internal resources seem to be unlimited. Unless, indeed, political management should induce her to imitate N. York, which state, to pacify the envious and discontented on her Souther border, is now cutting a canal, from Binghamtown to Utica, which is to be 100 miles long, with one hundred locks. And as it seems likely to be a dry concern they are building great tubs to catch rain water to moisten it. However, for all the use the canal will be of this is of little consequence, as some person has offered to wheel all the produce that will pass through it on a wheelbarrow. But if it makes Binghamtown vote the *pure Democratic ticket* I suppose the end will be answered. But if Pennsylvania can clear herself of the political log rolling system she must necessarily rise to be one of the most important states in our National Union.

907 miles in all.

THE EARLIEST HISTORY OF GERMANTOWN AN UNKNOWN PASTORIUS MANUSCRIPT

By Gerhard Friedrich

OF ALL the numerous manuscripts that have come down to us from the founder of the first German settlement on American soil, the most important, from the historical point of view, is the old land record of Germantown, entitled "Grund- und Lager-Buch aller und jeden unbeweglichen Güter, geklärt- und ungeklärten Landes, in der gantzen German Township." Inasmuch as this record is addressed to the first German inhabitants of America and to their descendants, it is also the most national book indited by Francis Daniel Pastorius. Its Latin dedication has been translated into English by the Quaker poet, John Greenleaf Whittier, and the Address to Posterity ("Ansprach an die Nachkömmlingschaft, und Alle, die dieses Lager-Buch continuiren oder fortsetzen") was the chief source for Whittier's "Pennsylvania Pilgrim."

A three-page manuscript [1] in the Abraham H. Cassel collection at Juniata College, Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, bears a very close relation to Germantown's "Grund- und Lager-Buch." The well-preserved document referred to was written by Pastorius in the year 1691, and careful investigation has revealed that, for the most part, it is an almost literal translation into English of excerpts from the "Ansprach an die Nachkömmlingschaft," recording the beginning of the Dutch-German immigration to America—from the year 1681, when William Penn was granted the province of Pennsylvania, to the laying-out of Germantown in 1684. For the last third of the historical outline, which covers the period from the foundation of Germantown to its actual incorporation in 1691, no direct basis has been discovered in the Old Land Record. Although the German original is much longer and detailed, the English counterpart is more specific in giving

[1] For a photographic reproduction of the first two folios of this manuscript, see frontispiece of this issue of the Bulletin. For a photographic reproduction of the title page of the "Grund- und Lager-Buch" see Marion D. Learned, *Life of Francis Daniel Pastorius,* Philadelphia, 1908, facing p. 266.

dates and the names of those persons in Germany and Holland who had purchased land from William Penn.

Whether or not the hitherto unknown English version was prepared by Pastorius for some special purpose, remains an unsolved problem. The title, "Some Memorandums Concerning the Dutch Purchasers And the laying out of Germantownship in Pensilvania," was probably chosen without taking into consideration the latter part of the manuscript. An entry on the back of the second leaf (presumably in the handwriting of Christian Lehman, surveyor of Germantown before the Revolutionary War), which designates the document as a "List of Dutch Purchasers of German Town," seems likewise inadequate. However, as a first-hand account of the earliest Pennsylvania-German settlement, the Pastorius record published here for the first time is interesting and significant. It is written on two sheets of Klaus Rittenhouse paper, measuring 19 by 30.5 cm each, and having as watermarks a trifoliated cloverleaf and the initials KR.

The Manuscript

[*fol.* 1]

SOME Memorandums Concerning the Dutch Purchasers And the laying out of Germantownship in Pensilvania. Taken out of a High-Dutch Manuscript, Written by Francis Daniel Pastorius In the year 1691.

Whereas Soon after King Charles the Second Did Grant the Province of Pensilvania to William Penn Esquire that he Should be Proprietor & Governour of the Same; Several persons in Germany & Holland (:To wit Jacob Van Den Wallen, Johan Jacob Shutz, Daniel Behagel, Caspar Merian, John W^{m} Uberfelt, George Straus, Johana Elenora Merlau, Abraham Hasevoet, Gerhart Van Mastrich, Thomas Van Willich, Johanes Lebrun, John Laurens, Balthasar Jawert, Johanes Kemler, :Jacob Telner, Dirk Sipman, Jacob Isaacs, Lenart Arets, John Strepers & Gerit Remkis:) Did purchase of the sd William Penn 43000 acres of Land By assistance of Benjamen flurly then Agent of the sd William Penn at Rotterdam; whereupon In the year 1683 the 20th of August the abovesd F. D. Pastorius attorney for the sd German Purchasers arived at Philad^{a} in the sd Province,

And the Same year on the 6th day of october arived at Philada aforesd, Dirk op den Graef, Herman op den Graef, Abraham op den Graef, Lenart Arets, Tunes Cunrads, Renier Tysen, William Streper, John Lensen, Peter Keurlin, John Simons, Johanes Bleickers, Abraham Tunes and John Lucken in behalf of the Low Dutch purcarsers [*fol.* 2] And then they all together went to the sd William Penn & Desired of him that all the land purchased by the High- & Low-Dutch purchasers Should be laid out & Survey'd in one tract And that by Navigable Water as it was promised to the above sd first purchasers beyond the Sea. But because the sd William Penn would not pleasure us in the Same, but in the Meantime untill the Arival of more Dutch famylies; Did profer us a township, not far from the City Liberties about two miles above the falls of Sculkill; Which tract of land we went to See on the 16th & Several following days of the sd October but by reason of the hills we Dislik'd the Same, and on the 20th of the Same Month we Reported to the sd William Penn, that we would rather go to the Woodward on an Even tract of ground which proposal he liked well & on the 22d Ditto went with us to View the Same tract where Germantown now is laid out, And then in the year 1684. the 20th and following days of ffebruary Germantownship was laid out by Thomas ffairman according to the Tenor of the Warrant we had Received of the sd William Penn, And then at the Begining of our Setling in Germantown Did Request the Proprietor to grant Certain priveledges to our Dutch Nation who according to his honourable Mildness Did grant our Request and promised to gratifie us with profitable priveledges; But in the mean time and before the sd priveledges were Executed we were under the Jurisdiction of the Courts at Philadelphia. [*fol.* 3] Lastly in the year 1691 the 18th of ffebruary Arived here (.Inclosed in a Letter to the sd ffrancis Daniel Pastorius.) by the way of New york a Charter for the Germantown Corporation, Dated at London the 12th day of August 1689. By which (:after having the great Seal of this Province affixed thereunto:) our former way of Officiating Ceased, And we from the 2d day of June in the Same year did begin in our General Court & Court of Record Did officiate for the Germantown Corporation.

JUST AMONG FRIENDS — IN 1806

By Robert J. Leach

WILLIAM WISTAR COMFORT, the retired president of Haverford College, has published a much-talked-about book dealing with the Society of Friends. It gives a comprehensive picture of the faith and practice of Quakers today. *Just Among Friends,* as the study is entitled, is a sociological descendant of other such attempts. Perhaps the classic work in this tradition was written in 1806 by Thomas Clarkson. His famous three-volume work, *A Portraiture of Quakerism,* serves as the source of the data for my paper. Clarkson, unlike Comfort, was not a Friend. His association with Friends came about as a result of his determined efforts to destroy the abominable slave trade of his day. The Society of Friends was his strongest ally in this struggle. Clarkson came to appreciate the genius of these plain people, and felt a desire to communicate his understanding to his fellow Englishmen. Quakerism had been in existence, by that time, a hundred and fifty years. But the Society of Friends had parted continuously from the psychological climate of its original habitat. No doubt the great mass of Englishmen either ignored the peculiar appearance and mores of the decreasing minority group, or were mildly aggravated by its seeming hypocrisies. That Friends were not held in the high esteem and popularity accorded them in 1944, is obvious from the many explanatory deviations on the part of Clarkson to win first a sympathetic ear, before he dare present certain characteristic Quaker viewpoints. The Society of Friends of 1806 had not yet emerged from the "hedges" of isolation with which it had cut itself off from the main stream of Christian faith and understanding. It was no longer a virile agent in the universal recrudescence of the spirit of Christ. Yet within the narrow confines of its membership there had been preserved a purity of religious expression which lasted even through a shattering century of division and petty internal violence. The virtue of the cloistered century previous to 1806 still bears its fruit in the prestige which the Society of Friends enjoys today.

MY PLAN is to pour the material dug out of 1100 pages of the *Portraiture of Quakerism* into the mold of the table of contents of *Just Among Friends,* but not to compare the two books. This arrangement will, I hope, be of more interest to those who are acquainted with Comfort's book. Before entering upon the consideration of Quaker faith and practice, one more observation should be made. Clarkson regarded the educational system of Friends as their chief bulwark of strength. Today Comfort and most Quaker commentators look to the faith of the Quakers, especially in its manifestation of the meeting for worship, as this bulwark. Why such a divergence of opinion? Perhaps Clarkson did not appreciate the genius of the meeting-centered life. Perhaps the Napoleonic age was such that he could comprehend no stronger factor than rational training. Or could it be that Friends' education has lost a primary position which it once had? At any rate this change of emphasis is a challenging point at which to dive into the *Portraiture.*

Though Clarkson is insistent that the basis of Quaker faith is first-hand experience, he is extremely careful to examine all scripture texts which appear to uphold any Quaker position, and to re-interpret any texts which appear to contradict any particular Quaker stand. This timidity may have been manifested in deference to the mental outlook of his reading public, but there was also evident a tendency among Friends to rely upon proof texts. Although Clarkson relegates theology to a secondary and even at times worthless position, he manages to construct an elaborate fabric of Quaker theology, or plan for salvation.

In the center of this Quaker theology stood the belief in the seed, or portion of God's spirit planted in the heart of every man. This seed flowered into that state of perfection known as the inward Christ, through heeding the righteous admonitions of the Holy Spirit, sometimes called the light within. To turn from this light would be to recrucify Christ. This central viewpoint is recognizable as the chief inheritance from the days of George Fox and the founders. As might be expected, however, the Calvinistic influence of the independent churches continuously bore in upon the Society of Friends. Quakers were forced to redefine their attitudes towards original sin, election, damnation,

and such. And in turn these Calvinistic concepts affected the Quaker mind. Fox had not disposed of Adam's fall. Though the term "original sin" is banned from the *Portraiture,* the fall is understood to signify a descent from a purely spiritual condition, to that in which man, by exercising his natural reason, may turn from God. An interesting interpretation is that given to the statement in Genesis in which it is promised that woman's seed should bruise the serpent. This statement is taken to mean that Jesus, the seed, would redeem man from his natural reasoning. Jesus' outward sacrifice served this Quaker theology as a primary salvation which was necessary for the achievement of the inward salvation, and the resurrection of the spiritual body after death. Fox's uncertainty as to the future state of the unregenerate is solved in the *Portraiture* by a belief in universalism, though this belief is not related to the necessity of achieving personal salvation.

Friends were clear in their denial of the doctrine of election. Jesus had not preached such a doctrine. Friends said such a belief would invalidate Christ's sacrifice, the necessity of prayer, and the nature of God as love. It was maintained that all men, pagan and Christian, have a portion of the inward light, and that this light, because of Christ's sacrifice, is sufficient for salvation. Common adjectives to describe the light are "primary" and "infallible." The central emphasis of John's gospel, namely, that the Word was with God and was God, is used throughout the interpretation of the Bible. Christ is always denominated the eternal light and word.

Another emphasis which is recognizable as an inheritance from the early days is that of a belief in dispensations or gradations of light granted to man at different stages of his history. Friends claimed that Jesus came to fulfill the law and institute a spiritual worship, communion, and baptism which superseded the outward forms. This belief reinforced the principle of discontinuing all formal worship, and the sacraments. On the other hand it has justified the Jewish observance of both.

It is further interesting to notice that the Society of Friends in 1806 considered the term "trinity" unscriptural, and its doctrine the result of human speculation. If any viewpoint in this connec-

tion was held, it was Penington's doctrine of distinctions: three aspects of one unity. Friends were likewise careful to avoid the term "word of God" to describe the scriptures. That phrase was used only to comprehend Christ in his eternal aspect.

Some striking generalizations may be made by comparing this careful system of spiritual theology with the ideas of early Friends, and of present-day Quakers. The adventurous joy, so characteristic of the first publishers of Truth, is lacking in 1806. There had grown up an unrecognized contradiction at the very source of Quaker belief. Friends in 1806 did not realize that the freedom of the inward life was not founded upon logical concepts of that freedom, but rather upon its practice, nor did they realize that one of these approaches must eventually take precedence over the other. Friends were forced to decide these questions before many years, and in the above dilemma lay the seeds of the separations.

Looking ahead from 1806 we might well foresee a group which would hold to the letter of this spiritual theology, having lost the spirit. Generally speaking, these were the Hicksites. Again, we might foresee a group who recognized the danger of dry rot and sought to inject new life by a neo-calvinistic interpretation of Quaker concepts. These were the Gurneyites. In time they became church people. As it did happen, only a small remnant held in practice to the immediacy of the inward spirit. These, in general the Wilburites, preserved the heart of the Quaker faith. Today the coming together of branches of Friends has involved a respect for the differing approaches, and a slow but growing recognition that the 1944 contradictions can only be resolved in the power of the inward life itself, quite dissociated from theological notions of the procedure involved. It is unusual to find a present-day Quaker well versed in the development of nineteenth-century Quakerism, who would venture to systematize the Quaker theology.

WE TURN now to the second consideration, that of the "Quaker meeting," the most important type of which is held for the purpose of worship. Here we discover that the original waiting type of meeting was universally observed. Silence

formed the natural matrix for a religious exercise in which the cardinal belief was that God's spirit became known where and when He chose. Thus all Friends were advised to wait silently until they were visited inwardly and called upon to speak.

However, the *Portraiture* reveals that this ideal for the meeting for worship was not entirely upheld, nor was the nurture of the divine seed explicitly integrated into the process of meditation. Speaking in the ministry is described as the composing of words directed toward men to help them focus their attention upon God. Nothing is said concerning speaking as being the instrument of the will of God, nor of the uniting experience which draws each out of his human measure and up into the pure and blessed community. An apparently understandable human process was expected to take place. The worshiper, upon seating himself, became passive physically, mentally, and imaginatively. Then upon the *tabula rasa* of his mind might appear some image. If this image were accompanied by an undeniable impulse to vocal expression, the "called" person was expected to give way to it. So far we recognize the elementary stages of any Quaker meeting, but what seems ominously lacking is the love of God explicitly felt, drawing forth and kindling unto joy. One has the feeling that the author of the *Portraiture* had not experienced those deep and moving meetings which characterize free religion at its best.

Quite rightfully different, however, was the outward appearance of a meeting in 1806. It was held, it is true, in the same plain unconsecrated meeting house that we use today. But the men and women sat divided, the former with hats and the latter wearing bonnets. Only when actually speaking in the ministry was the head uncovered. Prayers were uttered only upon bended knee. Then all others arose, and men Friends uncovered their heads. Remnants of these quaint forms exist among conservative Friends today. Clarkson noted with interest that when a Friend rose from the facing gallery, built there only for convenience, incidentally, he would always begin to speak slowly and increase the tempo before closing. Likewise the tendency would be to singsong the communication. There is no appreciation evident in the *Portraiture* either of the use of the gallery as a visible

expression of a divine-human society, or of the beauty of spontaneous modes of chanting.

Friends of 1806 celebrated no holidays, religious or otherwise. They knew that the love of God was unchanging regardless of the day or time. Hence there was no variation in the meetings held. And as Friends had an adequate educational system, there was no necessity for any teaching element in the meeting. Consequently, Clarkson observes, though words were spoken with authority, and fearlessly to any single person or to any group condition, there was very little variety of subject heard. It is good to read that Clarkson realized that this plain form of worshiping was especially valuable, because it dissociated worship from props or aids, either of an auditory or of a visual order.

Friends did not abolish two of the outward sacraments, namely burial and marriage. But it is significant that these events were observed by meetings for worship. The funeral meeting was always plain, because ornaments either of the coffin or in the meeting house would signify a pageantry honoring the temporary in man's existence. Mourning clothes were unknown. Friends had no double standard of human appointments, and again the fashionable world of 1806 went in for stages of partial mourning which Friends felt could not be consistent with honest affection and sorrow. A shorter meeting for worship was usually held by the grave, following that at the meeting house. Tombstones were not permitted as the phrase "false as an epitaph" described the times, and there was no virtue in simply listing a man's name and dates. For the most part the deceased were buried in rows, with no regard for family relationships. However, lest the memory of a righteous life be entirely forgotten, monthly meetings for business issued memorials which were printed and widely distributed. These memorials gave an account of the life and conduct of the deceased. This custom has continued to the present.

Marriages were more formal. There was the required affirmation of the man to the woman, and of the woman to the man. Then the monthly meeting certificate which approved of * the

* The phrase "allowed of," formerly used in wedding certificates, meant "approved of"; but in modern times it has been mistakenly supposed to have meant "allowed," and the "of" has been dropped in some

marriage was read publicly and endorsed by the married couple and then by the monthly meeting committee. The appointed meeting for worship for the accomplishment of the marriage was similar to those of today. However, the 1944 wedding is more elaborate, in almost every respect, as is the present-day funeral. Clarkson states that a Quaker adultery or divorce was unknown. This he attributed to the disciplinary system whereby both men and women presented intentions of marriage endorsed by their respective parents to their monthly meetings, were then visited by committees of their own sex, and reported back as to clearance at a second monthly meeting. The overseers of the meeting who performed this service now gave way to a committee which was appointed by the meeting to supervise the marriage. In 1806 it was a disownable offense to marry out of meeting, and then to state that one was not sorry to have broken the disciplinary rule of the Society. Clarkson states that many people were critical of Friends for this so-called "pharisaical" practice. Yet the offender was only called upon to say he was sorry he had broken the discipline, not that he was sorry he had married the person of his choice.

To many people today the whole system of marriage disownments seemed unchristian. Clarkson cites certain arguments that were urged in defense of disownment. To be married out of meeting meant the use of the offices of a paid minister, which was in itself a tacit denial of the belief in the immediacy of the holy spirit. This reasoning operated likewise to prevent Friends from being buried from churches and into consecrated burying grounds. Moreover, mixed marriages were difficult. Friends had quite definite folk mores; and offspring would be poorly nurtured if parents differed on obvious as well as superficial questions. The *Portraiture* noticed in passing, that more women than men were disowned for marrying out. This was attributed to the universally strong domestic education among women Friends, which character was lacking often in their more worldly counter-

Disciplines as superfluous. Thus the meaning of the text of the marriage certificate has been unwittingly changed, and the meeting has in effect asserted an authority to allow or disallow any given marriage—an authority which it did not earlier claim.

parts, so that non-Friends were tempted to seek Quaker wives. Discontinuance of marriage disownments has paralleled the decay of both the vital life and the folk mores of the Society of Friends. But whether or not this discontinuance contributed to the change is questionable. We do know, however, that carelessness in monthly meeting supervision has resulted in a loosening of present-day family ties.

THE NEXT QUESTION arises as to what fruits of silence were gathered in from this type of meeting-centered life. It is here that Clarkson did his best work—especially by portraying the character of the typical Friend of that time. Silence and patient waiting were traits bred into the Quaker child from his infancy. At home before each meal there was a silent grace, and often during social conversation, a deeper pause would center down to an impromptu meeting for worship, called an "opportunity." After a season of comfort to the spirit, social conversation would be resumed, and the whole event accepted as natural to persons of religious inclination. Though little is said of daily retirement and spiritual exercises, the practice of waiting for spiritual leadings permeated most of the daily living of the *Portraiture* Quaker. He engaged in no bitter talk, nor in threats against his adversaries. He was careful not to reflect upon another's faith, realizing that all men understand only as truth is revealed to them. Clarkson suggests that the tithe distraints which English Quakers consistently suffered, produced in them a tenderness, both to human beings and animals, that was unsurpassed. Again they were scarcely ever angry or upset. They reasoned from principle and not from consequences. They would never use means incompatible with the end in view. This involved a refusal to temporize, or to forsake religious principles, for the sake of expediency. Clarkson says that the Quakers were the only religious body in England who, to a man, practiced what they preached. Perhaps the most dangerous action of Friends in those Napoleonic days was to refuse to celebrate military victories or commiserate "national tragedies."

Adherence to principle resulted in an independency of mind and a virile courage which never faltered, but which was often

misinterpreted as obstinacy. Friends refused to meet in secret. They kept all engagements punctually, and were careful to use exact wording in conversation, in order to avoid mistruth or overstatement. This particular care was misunderstood by worldly people, who accused Friends of evasiveness and slyness. A common expression of the day was to say in speaking of a Quaker: "Though he will not swear, he will lie." This phrase Clarkson says was born of a malicious fiction. Still Friends did use peculiar phrases which appeared to be understatements. A superficial lack of polished manners and joking demeanor led to further misunderstanding. Friends were criticized for being discourteous and awkward in social relationships. Clarkson does admit a peculiar Quaker gait, but insists that Quaker hospitality, courtesy, and friendliness were real. For instance the Quaker preferred his guests "to be free," to entertain themselves, and thus allow him to follow his own interests. Guests were expected to ask for what they desired. In doing this they acted "kindly." It is true that questionable wit and story were banned, but on the other hand there was a wholesome and cheerful interchange of conversation like that of a happy family circle. Friends were careful to avoid discussing politics, a realm which was forbidden to them by their profession, that is, unless some question of human rights or religious freedom was involved. All fashionable chitchat was automatically excluded from Quaker conversation. Especially *verboten* was any talk that partook of the gossip quality—in fact there had always been a query searching after consistency in that regard. Toasts were not countenanced as being of heathen origin and leading to the discontinuance of true courtesy.

If an Englishman knew nothing else about Friends he might have known that they used a peculiar speech involving thee and thou. This so-called "plain language" was criticized most heartily by the public, who felt that Friends were artificial in thus speaking, especially as the *thou* form was fast going into discard. Clarkson makes only a weak defense of what was once a gramatically correct form. He seems to have had little regard for its cohesive value within a closely knit religious family. Clarkson has even less of a defense to make of the plain calendar, though

he says it points the way to calendar reform. Obviously Friends had deleted pagan terms from a very small portion of their vocabulary. The *Portraiture* does speak warmly, however, of the Quaker disuse of all titles, including "master" and "mistress," and the substitution of plain names—incidentally never called "Christian names." Indeed even the title Saint is avoided before all the disciples' names. He notes that "Friend" and "neighbor" are the two acceptable titles which may be used indiscriminately. Again Friends were careful to avoid the expressions "good morrow," "good evening," as all days were considered to be equally good. "Farewell" was used instead.

It is difficult to trace the origin of these folkways. They seem quaint and perhaps absurd to us. However, Clarkson was keen enough to detect they were a hedge, a constant reminder of the high religious profession of the Society, and to that end served a valuable function. Certainly a plain language which outlawed flattery and promiscuous begging of polite pardons kept Friends close to accuracy and straightforwardness.

Perhaps there was no element in the Quaker picture that was more thoroughly distasteful to the men in the street than the plain dress, which seemed to him to betoken an idolatrous worship of dead formalism. Yet upon scrutiny the *Portraiture* reveals that there was no uniformity in the plainness practiced in 1806, but rather an absence of fashion and foible. Men Friends wore "neither lace, frills, ruffles, swords," nor other fashionable ornaments; women Friends wore neither "lace, flounces, lappets, rings, bracelets, ear-rings, nor any thing belonging to this class"; nor were bright blues, greens, or yellows worn. Clarkson gives interesting reasons for drab and simple clothing. First they suited the religious demeanor. Here is a puritan note. Second they enabled one to escape the lust of the eye, to snub dame fashion. Again the puritan! Third, clothing was designed for decency and protection. Anything beyond these two functions would be superfluous. There is absent the characteristic economic explanation. Fourth, the plain dress served as a hedge for the preservation of the younger members. To change would involve a tendency to mix with worldly people, and thus to dilute the Quaker testimony. It is interesting that Clarkson says American

Friends were generally more conservative than English. Only two specific items of clothing are mentioned. Men Friends consistently refused to remove their hats in the presence of any person no matter if he should be the king of the realm. Women Friends were now abandoning the green apron which had once been a universal garment. Likewise today we see last remnants of what a previous age had considered to be plain and simple.

In 1806 plainness of dress extended even to the furnishings of one's home. Clarkson points out that no matter how rich the Quaker family might be, there could be no satin upholstery, no gilded chairs, no full-length mirrors, no crystal chandeliers, no heavy curtains. There might be a colorful turkish carpet, but the color could hardly be helped. Again there would be no picture upon the wall except perhaps a print of Penn's Indian Treaty, or a view of Ackworth Boarding School, or a print of a slave ship. Once in a while an inherited picture, if of a moral character, would be allowed to hang upon the walls. Domestic art work seems not to have been discouraged, but such handiwork was contained in parlor albums, not displayed openly. No portraits whatsoever were either posed for or shown. Here we encounter a Puritan restraint which is well outgrown. It would have been an anachronism to find a concern expressed in 1806 over the economic injustice of elaborate possessions.

Today it is as difficult to generalize upon the folk mores of Friends as it was easy 140 years ago. The divisions and separations destroyed the carefully wrought pattern. In general we may say that the Gurneyites, or church Friends, have departed even further from the folkways than from the theology and spirit of the Society in 1806. They have largely identified themselves socially and religiously with the prevailing Protestant neighborhoods in which each local church is located. Thus comparisons I may make with present-day Quakers will exempt this group and include only Hicksites and Wilburites. Today the "precious opportunity" is hardly known. The modern Quakers gather to "think things through" at conferences. The "brittleness" of character which Fox despised has reappeared, especially among Hicksites. Perhaps a century without the suggestion of persecution has calloused away most tenderness. It is common for

Friends to temporize, to act from expediency's viewpoint. It is probable that a census would reveal that less than half the official membership are conscientiously concerned with practicing the ideals of Friends. And perhaps a third of the membership is unaware of the testimonies which as members they are expected to bear.

Nevertheless Friends have generally maintained their reputation as a moral people, though the public does not expect greater honestly from a Quaker than from other persons. They are socially acceptable, today, especially in Philadelphia, where they constitute many of the so-called "best people." Despite the social mixing with the "world's people," the use of the plain language and continued interest in meeting affairs has tended to create an inner circle where light talk alternates with social concern.

Friends have made attempts at preserving simplicity, but continued economic prosperity has resulted in a standard of living in all branches of Friends that is perhaps only a shade less elaborate than that of the various neighborhoods in which they live.

[To be concluded.]

WILLIAM PENN TERCENTENARY PLANS

A FEW members of the Friends Peace Committee of Philadelphia took the initiative in planning to recognize the fact that October 24, 1944, will mark the tercentenary of William Penn's birth. After conference they invited representatives of the chief standing committees and of the most important institutions of Philadelphia Quakerdom to meet on Seventh-day morning, First month 15, 1944, to consider plans and a possible organization to celebrate this significant birthday.

The gathering was one of deep interest and real enthusiasm. We were all united in a desire to use the anniversary to revive and extend the knowledge of William Penn's life, ideals, and service in the many fields of his religious, social, and political endeavor,—not only throughout the Society of Friends, but also within our city and State, and even wider boundaries.

A sponsoring committee of some twenty Friends has been formed, and a somewhat larger working committee, with an active executive committee of eleven.

Meanwhile Governor Edward Martin was visited at Harrisburg. He immediately promised full cooperation, and soon appointed a Pennsylvania Tercentenary Committee of twelve to take the responsibility for planning a worthy state-wide celebration. He accepted the Honorary Chairmanship, and named Charles F. Jenkins as Chairman and Stanley R. Yarnall as Secretary, and included two other Friends on the Committee, Dr. William W. Comfort, also acting as Chairman of the Penn Committee of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and Dr. Edward E. Wildman.

The State Committee has opened an office, adequately staffed, in rooms provided by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania at 1300 Locust Street, Philadelphia, and the Friends' work will center at 304 Arch Street, while the Executive Committee meets at 1515 Cherry Street.

Plans are developing rapidly, with remarkable interest shown in many directions—not only for large public meetings in Philadelphia on October 24, arranged by religious, civic, and educational agencies, but for many celebrations and appropriate programs in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware, the three States that felt Penn's guiding hand in an especial degree.

In his proclamation of William Penn Day, Governor Martin speaks of "William Penn, Quaker Founder and Proprietor of our great Commonwealth, as one of the truly great men of history, who symbolized by his beliefs and deeds the hope of the human race for a better world. . . . one whose tolerance, wisdom, enlightenment, and vision as a statesman of the common weal render him an outstanding figure among the builders of states, and whose life and teaching provide many basic ideas of religious and political freedom, and individual freedom upon which our American liberty is founded . . . a political force in the record of human progress, contributing to the thought underlying much of our present educational philosophy, and to the development of that great charter of our American liberties, the Constitution of the United States."

The committee working on the Tercentenary are concerned that these larger conceptions of the life of William Penn be emphasized in numerous plans and celebrations. He was the most

versatile and many-sided man of his age,—deeply religious, wholeheartedly devoted to fundamental Quaker faith and practice, yet a courtier and a kindly gentleman withal, generous, unworldly, large-hearted, human in his personal relations, unique in history as the proprietor of a great state, freely his to develop as a Holy Experiment in carrying out his rich conception of a Christian philosophy. Truly Friends have this year a great opportunity in remembering William Penn.

As Richard R. Wood, Secretary of the Philadelphia Friends' Committee, stated in his recent thoughtful article in the *Friend* (vol. 117, p. 293: March 16, 1944): "Every Friends' meeting in the United States might well have its own Tercentenary program, and would probably find its neighbors in the community interested to take part. Every Quaker school and college will naturally have programs, in assembly, in class-room, and in debates and other extra-curricular activities.

"Every Quaker activity should find observance of the Tercentenary helpful to its program . . . [in presenting] some of the truths that are needed by the world today."

STANLEY R. YARNALL

QUAKER RESEARCH IN PROGRESS OR UNPUBLISHED

THE following list of present or recent studies in Quakerism continues the series of such notices appearing from time to time in the BULLETIN. It is of course improbable that the list is complete; but it is interesting as showing where the present frontiers of Quaker research are.

Information of other Quaker studies in progress but not published should be sent to Henry J. Cadbury, Chairman of the Committee on Historical Research, 7 Buckingham Place, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Raymond Adams, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina. *Bronson Alcott Among the North Carolina Quakers.* (The second section of a two-part paper on "Bronson Alcott's Sojourns in North Carolina." The first part deals with his stay in Warrenton in 1822; the second part with his stay in Perquimans and Chowan Counties in 1823.) Research completed and first draft of paper written.

Charles M. Andrews (deceased) and Evangeline W. Andrews (joint editors), 424 St. Ronan Street, New Haven, Connecticut. *Jonathan Dickinson's Journal, "Gods Protecting Providence."* (A new edition with introduction and appendices.) To be published by the Yale University Press. Manuscript completed.

Charles Arthur Beals, 615 East Sixth Avenue, Emporia, Kansas. *The Development of Friends' Education in Kansas.* (A record of one Indian mission, ten academies, and three colleges.) Fort Hays Kansas State College; Education, thesis for M.S., 1941.

Arthur C. Bining, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Robert L. Brunhouse, Brothers College, Drew University, Madison, New Jersey; Norman B. Wilkinson, Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pennsylvania (compilers). *Bibliography of Pennsylvania History.* (Classified compilation of secondary works dealing with history of Pennsylvania.) To be published by the Pennsylvania Historical Commission, Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. Compilation completed.

Agnes H. Campbell, 601 East 9th Street, New York 9, New York. *A Bibliography of the Published Writings and Addresses of Rufus M. Jones.* (The compiler plans to make this a complete bibliography, including books, pamphlets, articles in periodicals and encyclopedias, and forewords and addresses, as well as different printings and translations.) Compilation about two-thirds completed. No plans for publication, but copy to be deposited in the Haverford College Library.

Jessie Gidley Carter, 332 Ostrom Avenue, Syracuse, New York. *Life and Work of Job Scott.* (A republication of the journal of Job Scott, including manuscripts never printed because they were considered not in complete accordance with Friends' principles.) Work in progress.

Otelia Cromwell, 1815 Thirteenth Street, N. W., Washington 9, D. C. *Lucretia Mott.* (The significance of Lucretia Mott in reform movements of the nineteenth century.) Research commenced.

William Allan Dyer, 995 James Street, Syracuse, New York. *William Dyer of Rhode Island. The Dyer Family of Rhode Island and His Other Descendants.* (Gives information in regard to the antecedents of Mary Dyer, the Quaker Martyr.) Completed. A manuscript copy deposited at the Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence, Rhode Island.

Dorothy Ann Gardyne (Mrs. David Dimmock), Hunky Dory Farm, Hatchville, Massachusetts. *The Contribution of Rendel Harris to the 'Even-Christian.'* (Dr. Harris's methods and conclusions in regard to the origin and development of customs and expressions which might be of special interest to the layman, i.e., The Eucharist, left hand, Sons of Thunder, chalices, and others.) Guilford College, Religion, A.B. 1937.

Robert Morton Hazelton, 123 N. Common Street, Lynn, Massachusetts. *Life and Work of Moses Brown.* (Study derived from original sources on Moses Brown as conscientious objector, abolitionist, educator, Friend, and contributor to American culture.) Research commenced.

Sheldon Glenn Jackson, 1205 New York Street, Lawrence, Kansas. *History of Kansas Yearly Meeting.* (A study of available material on the history of Friends in Kansas and surrounding territory.) University of Kansas; History, thesis for A.M. 1944. Manuscript almost completed.

Hertha Kraus, 233 Roberts Road, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania. *International Relief in Action, 1917-1943.* (With special reference to the relief work of British and American Friends.) Material completed and to be published soon by the Harold Press, Scottdale, Pennsylvania.

Arnold Lloyd, Handsworth Grammar School, Birmingham, England. *The Origin and Development of the Discipline of the Society of Friends.* Cambridge University, History. Ph.D. Research work to start in autumn of 1944. Preliminary study made of the Epistles of London Yearly Meeting.

President John E. Pomfret, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia. *The Bradfords, Colonial Printers.* To be published in the series of *Pennsylvania Lives* by the University of Pennsylvania Press. Preliminary research commenced.

S. Lindley Stanley, Kansas State Teachers College, Pittsburg, Kansas. *A History of the Quaker Settlement at Hesper, Kansas.* Kansas State Teachers College; History and Social Sciences, thesis for M.S. 1937. Manuscript completed.

Mary Elizabeth Stewart, 1000 Walnut Street, McKeesport, Pennsylvania. *Elizabeth Gurney Fry and Prison Reform.* University of Pittsburgh; thesis for A.M. Research commenced.

CORRECTIONS TO MEMBERSHIP LIST

A FULL list of the members of Friends Historical Association was published in the BULLETIN, vol. 30 (1941), spring number, pp. 50-64. Corrections to this list were published two years later, in vol. 32, pp. 43-48. We print herewith a record of changes that have taken place since that time.

ADDITIONS TO THE MEMBERSHIP LIST SINCE THE SPRING OF 1943

Atkinson, Francis W., Moorestown, New Jersey
Babb, Nancy J., 140 N. 15th Street, Philadelphia 2, Pa.
Bacon, Francis R., 3307 Clarendon Road, Cleveland 18, Ohio

Benson, Lewis, 99 Branch Street, Mount Holly, New Jersey
Billo, Geoffroy, 11 Axtell Drive, Scarsdale, New York
Borton, Samuel L., Audubon, Pa.
Branson, B. Russell, Guilford College, North Carolina
Chapellier, George, 26 W. 57th Street, New York, N. Y.
Class, Norman, 1110 Herbert Street, Philadelphia 24, Pa.
Cleaver, Jonathan, 1652 Butler Pike, Conshohocken, Pa.
Edgerton, C. Willis, College Avenue, Haverford, Pa.
Fenninger, Carl W., 100 W. Moreland Avenue, Chestnut Hill, Phila., Pa.
Forman, Elizabeth Chandlee (Mrs. Horace B.), Haverford, Pa.
Forman, Horace B., Jr., Haverford, Pa.
Frorer, Henry R., Wayne, Pa.
Greene, John G., 6 Chestnut Avenue, Boston 8, Massachusetts
Hallowell, Marguerite, 437 W. School House Lane, Philadelphia 44, Pa.
Haviland, Harris G., Friends Select School, 17th & Parkway, Phila. 3, Pa.
Haviland, Walter W., The Knoll, Lansdowne, Pa.
Hewitt, Lenora, 245 S. 38th Street, Philadelphia 4, Pa.
Hobbs, Richard J. M., Chapel Hill, North Carolina
James, Arthur E., 408 S. Walnut Street, West Chester, Pa.
Kramer, Kenneth L., 34 Strathmore Road, West Haven, Conn.
Landt, Gustav E., Curren Terrace, Norristown, Pa.
Lewis, Martha Serene, Shadowild, Strafford, Pa.
Lippincott, Elizabeth R., 422 Lippincott Avenue, Riverton, N. J.
MacIntosh, Archibald, 3 College Circle, Haverford, Pa.
McKie, Elizabeth, 600 N. Chester Road, Swarthmore, Pa.
Nichols, Roy F., 438 Riverview Road, Swarthmore, Pa.
Paschall, Edith Verlenden, 86 S. Lansdowne Avenue, Lansdowne, Pa.
Petri, Fred, 548 Unruh Street, Philadelphia 11, Pa.
Petri, Mathilde, 548 Unruh Street, Philadelphia 11, Pa.
Plummer, William, Jr., Radnor, Pa.
Richie, E. Roberts, Brewster, New York
Shaffer, Leslie D., Pendle Hill, Wallingford, Pa.
Shryock, Richard H., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia 4, Pa.
Verlenden, Mary, 320 Owen Avenue, Lansdowne, Pa.
Vernon, Anna, Pendleton, Indiana
Yarnall, Wayne B., 3016 Jenny Lind Street, McKeesport, Pa.

Deaths

Bell, Albert T., Atlantic City, New Jersey
Biddle, Marian Scull (Mrs. Robert), Riverton, N. J.
Bingham, Arthur W., 219 S. Harrison Street, East Orange, N. J.
Cope, Thomas P., 698 Arden Road, Pasadena, Cal.
Fussell, Robert, Media, Pa.
Hall, Clement H., Berwyn, Pa.
Oberge, Ullericka H., Ardmore, Pa.

Paquet, Alfons, Frankfurt am Main, Germany.
Rowland, William C., 1520 Spruce Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Stanton, William H., Ridley Park, Pa.

Resignations

Borton, William J., 294 W. Main Street, Moorestown, N. J.
Branson, Anna, 26 Tenmore Road, Haverford, Pa.
English, Charles H., 163 Upland Terrace, Bala-Cynwyd, Pa.
Gardiner, Edward Carey, 1811 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Haines, George, IV, 305 W. Miner Street, West Chester, Pa.
Harper, B. Frank, 234 E. Penn Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Hawley, Charles A., First Presbyterian Church, Atchison, Kansas
Kent, Juliet (Mrs. Arthur W.), 345 Vassar Avenue, Swarthmore, Pa.
Longstreth, Walter C., 140 N. 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pa.
Maris, Robert H., 1102 W. 10th Street, Wilmington, Del.
Morris, Homer L., Wallingford, Pa.
Mullowney, John J., Tarpon Springs, Florida
Rittenhouse, Jane A., 6 College Circle, Haverford, Pa.
Russell, Edwin A., 500 Chester Avenue, Moorestown, N. J.
Sharpless, Frederic C., Rosemont, Pa.
Stanton, Mrs. William H., Ridley Park, Pa.
Test, Mrs. Daniel D., Jr., East Hampton, Mass.
Trueblood, D. Elton, Stanford University, California
Wollaston, Fannie Sharpless, Landenberg, Pa.
Wood, Mary R., Riverton, N. J.
Yarnall, Florence P., Hamilton Court, 39th & Chestnut Sts., Phila., Pa.

Summary

New members		39
Deaths	10	
Resignations	21	
Total losses		31
Net gain in membership		8
Present total membership		578

A SERIES of pamphlet accounts of Quakerism in various countries to be compared with series being published by the American Friends Board of Missions (see this Bulletin, 32:33) begins with "Quakerism in Switzerland" by Irene Pickard, Bertram Pickard, and Blanche Shaffer (Friends World Committee for Consultation, 1943, 36 pp).

BOOK REVIEWS

Westtown Through the Years, 1799-1942, by Helen G. Hole. Westtown, Pennsylvania. Westtown Alumni Association, 1942. 434 pp.; many illustrations. $2.00.

"SIX O'CLOCK on a cold winter morning. The harsh clanging of a bell shatters the slumbers of a hundred boys, sleeping under the sloping roof of the long attic dormitory of Westtown School"—so begins the chapter introducing the reader to the first quarter century of life at Westtown, 1800-1825. The book reads from the very beginning like a story rather than a history without "resort to probabilities and reasonable guesses." In fact the details are based, as we are told, on a study of the letters, diaries and minute books of the period—even to beaver hats, nut-houses, pewter cannons, and pie portions.

To those who have been the fortunate attenders of the school, the book must bring back all the delightful memories of picnic excursions, elocution contests, and classes with beloved personalities; and to all readers it brings a remarkable and inspiring picture of the devotion of those men and women who have been able to maintain, through the 143 years of the school's history, a clear vision of the religious concern which first prompted the founding of Westtown School.

The author of the book is especially well qualified for the work she has undertaken. She is a graduate of the school, has taught there for four years, and is now the wife of a Westtown teacher, as well as a descendant of three generations of Westonians. The book itself exhibits her devotion to her task through the two and a half years of her work upon it. Out of the immense amount of research it has entailed she has culled a picture with all the mellow tones of a Westtown sampler. It is the kind of book that would appeal not only to former Westonians but to all readers who find joy in discovering in the patterns of character, aspiration, and faith of earlier generations, the values that are eternal.

In form, the book is very attractive, the type large and clear, and the illustrations well selected, including fascinating silhouettes and photographs of Westonians, maps and early drawings of the school, and appropriate pen-and-ink sketches at the close of each chapter. At the end of the text are detailed "foot-notes" on each of the chapters, a chronology, a list of teachers and administrative officers, carefully compiled by Susanna Smedley, and a complete index, all of which add greatly to the value of the book as an authentic historical reference tool.

The text is organized into chapters covering broad periods of the School's history—the beginnings and the first quarter century, the middle years and the idyllic period known as "The Closed Garden," the Civil War years, and Westtown after the rebuilding of the school. The material is presented in "story" form with delightful word pictures of specific episodes interspersed with short biographies of the superintendents and

teachers who were the dominant forces in determining the intellectual and religious pattern of the school. Such an outstanding character was Enoch Lewis, one of the first teachers at Westtown, and the one who set the pattern in the school for a love of mathematics and astronomy. It was he who introduced the students to the wonders of electricity and of the orrery, and it was he who explained to them the awe-inspiring phenomenon of a total solar eclipse when the entire school, with smoked glasses and basins of water for mirrors, watched one, on a half holiday set aside for the purpose. He became known to the students affectionately as "Enoch, the Star-gazer," and among those under his influence were such boys as Thomas Say, later a distinguished naturalist and one of the founders of the Academy of Natural Sciences. Enoch Lewis was a strong abolitionist and a devout Quaker. When offered a chair of mathematics at the University of Pennsylvania, he refused on the ground that his duties would prevent his attendance at Fifth-Day meeting. For many years he was editor of the *Friends Review*.

These were the early days of the school when old Eli Seeds was the "nightly watchman," when backless stools were used at the dining table instead of chairs, when on cold winter mornings the children dressed by candle light and washed in the frigid water of the pump. It was also the period of "pie nights." Nights at early Westtown were of two kinds—nights with bread and milk or corn-meal mush and molasses as the only items for supper, and those less frequent nights when "delicious pie with flaky, well-browned crust, baked on the premises in an oven preheated by a wood fire" were served. These pies had been baked in large earthenware dishes and were at least three inches thick at the center. Boys sometimes managed to slip one of them from the storeroom to be eaten in secret, and they were also used by the teachers as currency to reward their student helpers. They were one of the principal features of old Westtown life. Such are the stories that fill the fascinating pages of *Westtown Through the Years*.

In his foreword to the book, Carroll T. Brown, a teacher at Westtown and son of one of its most beloved principals, Thomas K. Brown, says: "As you read this book, you may find yourself saying: how odd, how delightfully quaint, how absurd! But the boys and girls, the teachers and parents and Committee Friends, in the successive stages of this story, did not feel odd, quaint, or absurd. They felt like normal beings, just as we today feel like normal beings. The different Westtowns so vividly televisioned in these pages were, in a mysterious way characteristic of all human groupings that achieve a distinct life and quality, the embodiment of an informing principle, of what Plato called an *Idea*."

It is the distinct *life and quality* of this particular little community that the author has so skillfully transmitted to the reader through the pages of *Westtown Through the Years*—the life and quality that are the outcome of an implicit Quaker belief in the life of the spirit. Perhaps one could sum up the qualities of this book by saying that it is readable

from cover to cover for both young people and adults, and that the value of it as an authentic historical work is greatly enhanced by its literary charm. Friends as a body as well as those of the Westtown family may be extremely grateful to the author for the loving spirit in which she has interpreted and preserved the history of Westtown School for future Westonians and for the Society of Friends.

DOROTHY G. HARRIS
Swarthmore College

History of George School 1893-1943. Published by the Alumni Association of George School. George School, Pennsylvania, [1943]. 158 pp.; 14 illustrations; with chronological table and index.

IF THE volume narrating the history of George School is somewhat smaller than the one reviewed above, giving the history of Westtown, one of the reasons may be the fact that it had only fifty years to cover instead of 140. But the two histories are strikingly similar in many respects. In both the story is told of an active religious concern for the education of Friends' children; in both there were a number of consecrated persons who carried the burden of the concern and gave it practical expression. George School had its committee, its George H. Nutt, its three principals (two of the family of Walton), its Jesse H. Holmes (till he went to Swarthmore), and other personalities who have stood out in its spiritual life, just as Westtown had its committee and its leaders at the school. Both schools began in periods which seem oppressively conservative to us, both have evolved with the changing times and have become leaders in the academic world. And both books tell of good times, of mischievous pranks, of lively pupils who look back upon their school days with respect and affection.

The title page names no author; but the preface explains that much of the work of surveying and indexing the available records was done by members of a group or committee, of whom George M. Hart, of the class of 1937, "came most intimately in touch with the material," and that he and William Hubben were mainly responsible for the actual writing. Such cooperative enterprises are sometimes spotty; but the cooperation has been so close that the narrative flows in uninterrupted smoothness from beginning to end. The editors have written well what they set out to write—not "a final and definitive history of the school" (what history of a going school could ever be final or definitive?), but "a brief book touching lightly upon essentials, interpreting rather than chronicling events."

The first seven chapters (pp. 7-51) show more of the character of a narrative, telling of the concern of George L. Maris, the first principal, and John M. George, who left some $700,000 to be devoted to the founding of a school which later came to bear his name; of the labors of the committee in selecting a site and constructing the building; of the opening of the school; and of the work of Joseph S. Walton, who succeeded

George L. Maris and served as principal from 1901 to 1912. From this date the school has been under the principalship of George A. Walton; and the *History* tells of different aspects of the school's development instead of trying to narrate events in chronological order—of student life, religious training, music and the arts (once treated as stepchildren in Quaker schools), athletics, and changes in curriculum, especially those introduced after the school joined the Eight-Year Study of the Progressive Education Association in 1933.

The *History* is a most intriguing book. It tells, with directness and great charm, of the work of a group dedicated to education, efficient in carrying out their concern.

T. K. B.

The Shoemaker of Dover, Luke Howard, 1621-1699, by L. V. Hodgkin (Mrs. John Holdsworth). London, Friends Book Centre, 1943. 83 pp. 5s.

"Dr. Faber and his Celebrated Cordial," by Harriet Sampson, in *Isis,* vol. xxiv (1943), pp. 472-496.

THE PUBLICATION of a first biography of a seventeenth-century Friend is an event of importance to all lovers of Quaker history. Here are two items of the sort, but they are likely to be overlooked. Although Violet Hodgkin is well known to American Friends, at least by her writings, few copies of her latest book have reached America, and I have just seen, five months after receiving my own copy, the first American review. *C'est la guerre.* Even between allies the war interferes with exchange of books by regulations affecting traffic in each direction. The other authoress is an American, but is not known to Friends. Her contribution is likely to escape their notice, since it is buried in an unfamiliar periodical, the organ of the History of Science Society.

Luke Howard's life is retold largely on the basis of his own collected works, a 316-page volume entitled *Love and Truth in Plainness Manifested,* published in his memory in 1704. The biographer has kept much of his own wording and has supplemented the information from other early Quaker sources like *First Publishers of Truth* and Besse's *Sufferings.* The book is attractively printed by the Quaker firm of John Bellows of Gloucester.

Luke Howard came to Quakerism from the General Baptists, who were very strong in Kent, and he became one of the leaders of the Society of Friends in the county. He suffered fine and imprisonment repeatedly for his faith, or rather for such manifestations of it as absence from the national worship, or keeping his shop open on Sunday. He was apparently a man of some substance and influence. He had some part in converting to Quakerism the famous Leveller, John Lilburne, when the latter was a prisoner in Dover Castle. He does not seem to have traveled widely in the ministry either in England or on the Continent so close to his home. The picture left of him is a very attractive one, quite worthy to be added to Violet Hodgkin's earlier *acta sanctorum* of Quakerism.

A curious misapprehension led to her writing the biography. Herself the great-granddaughter of a later man of the same name, Luke Howard, F.R.S. (1772-1864), the biographer supposed the earlier Luke was also an ancestor. Her supposition was indeed affirmed in a manuscript pedigree. This kindled her interest, but before publishing her study she became convinced, though still without certain evidence, that the supposition was not correct. One who has been in England in wartime can realize the difficulties which prevented her from visiting Dover and from securing there and elsewhere additional data. The present reviewer has been able to glean from various sources some bits of information even in America. If opportunity offers they will be published in full. Meanwhile they may be listed below.

a) Three letters of Luke Howard in the Swarthmore MSS of which one is mentioned but not quoted in the new book. *b*) The account in the lately recovered MSS of William Caton of his visit to Dover in 1655 when Luke Howard became convinced. *c*) The early narrative of the convincement, by his master, of John Higgins, Howard's apprentice. *d*) Additional "sufferings" including an item in the Calendar of State Papers too late in date to be included in the volume of *Extracts Relating to Friends*. *e*) Evidence (from Morning Meeting records and elsewhere) of Luke Howard's frequent if not regular journeys to London at Yearly Meeting beside the one instance (in 1677) mentioned by Violet Hodgkin. *f*) His association with William Penn for ten days in September, 1672, as revealed in the latter's unpublished diary of his journey through Kent. *g*) His connection at Dover in 1661 with Charles Bayly, the renegade Quaker, who became Governor of the Hudson Bay Company from 1670 to 1680 (not 1660-1670 as given in this BULLETIN, 32:94). *h*) Other controversial episodes, related in a pamphlet by Howard that was not reprinted in his collected works. *i*) Two printed testimonies added to that collection, being inserted in some copies after it was printed. *j*) Definite data concerning himself, his wives, and his children from the Friends' records of births, deaths, and marriages in Kent.— These last clear up many of the uncertainties that Violet Hodgkin reports, though I have not pursued the pedigree further through his son, who is presumably the Luke Howard mentioned at Dover by Mary Weston's journal in 1735. From the same local records one can secure further data about the shoemaker's Quaker associates mentioned in this biography. On the other hand Baptist sources have failed to add any information about his pre-Quaker history.

The full name of the second of the biographies mentioned above was Albertus Otto Faber (*c.* 1612-1684), who was not an influential Friend. In fact, his loyalty to Quakerism probably dwindled and entirely vanished. His importance is in the striking and characteristic career of a German medical savant, not to call him a quack or mountebank, who when he settled in England found economic if not spiritual advantage in associa-

tion with Friends. Apparently his wife Claude was the more ardent adherent, and that without understanding English. Faber's career is somewhat like the better known though still inadequately published story of his fellow countryman Doctor Francis Mercurius van Helmont.

Faber came to England early in 1661 and practiced medicine in London. He published medical works of his own and translations from the German, including some rather millenarian visions of Stephen Mellish. He made claim to notable cures and circulated his remedy through Quaker agents. In 1664 he was arrested at the Bull and Mouth and imprisoned with other Friends for violating the Conventicle Act, although, as he reminded the Mayor, as a foreigner he was not liable to its penalties. The Lord Mayor held the view that he was "a very suspected person, rather of crafty principles and so a maker of Quakers than otherwise, he being a great professed doctor among them for physic." He was later suspected of plotting arson at Banbury, but what he probably plotted was digging for buried treasure. The Quakers themselves had reason later to suspect his loyalty. There is no evidence that he was connected with Quakerism the last sixteen years of his life.

More than the last third of Miss Sampson's monograph deals not with biographical but with medical or iatrochemical matters that I am not qualified to discuss. In piecing together the facts of Faber's life from the most diverse and recondite sources, including unpublished Quaker material, she has shown extraordinary skill, diligence, and intelligence. We do well to be reminded of the temporary scaffoldings as well as of the pillars of early Quakerism.

Henry J. Cadbury

Harvard University

Travels in Georgia and Florida, 1773-74; a report to Dr. John Fothergill. By William Bartram. Annotated by Francis Harper. Vol. xxxiii, Part 2, New Series, of Transactions of the American Philosophical Society. Philadelphia, 1943, 122 pp., illustrated with 26 plates and a portrait of William Bartram. $2.00.

THOSE of us who read and enjoyed Part I of Dr. Harper's scholarly annotation of the Bartram Journals (reviewed in the 1943 Autumn Number of the Bulletin) have looked forward eagerly to the appearance of the second part, which includes William Bartram's account of his experiences and observations during the first two years of his southern trip.

This volume, which is now in hand, matches its predecessor in quality and interest. Indeed one finds in both these treatments examples of the highest expression of the annotator's skill. Dr. Harper has lived with the Bartrams, he has followed their itinerary not once but often, has camped where they camped, enjoyed many of the natural beauties in which they rejoiced, and rediscovered many of the plants and animals recorded in their diaries in the very localities in which these great pioneers

first found them. Moreover, Dr. Harper brings to his interpretation a critical insight and a systematic training in biology which enable him to identify with a high degree of accuracy many of the species mentioned in the journals. Probably no living scientist is better qualified for this task; our debt to him for having preserved, translated, and made available the richness of these materials is indeed a heavy one.

The present volume contains an introduction in which the history of the manuscript (presumably compiled from William Bartram's long-lost original field journals), and the author's field experiences and status as a naturalist are discussed. Had the annotator been less modest he might here have told us more about his own travels in retracing the Bartram trail—travels which began in 1917 and took him some ten thousand miles.

In the main body of the work is incorporated William's "Travels," in two volumes. These are presented as literal copies of the original, with only an occasional minor modification in the interests of clarity. Here one may read in all its freshness the day-by-day account of the eager, curious, and impressionable young naturalist as he explored a wilderness as yet unvisited by white man. This section is unmarred by footnotes or annotations, for the author has properly reserved his own comments for a separate section, which by the aid of serial references the reader may consult at will. In addition, there is an annotated index in which is recorded a wealth of valuable information concerning the identity of geographic and biological references. This feature alone represents years of painstaking study on the part of the annotator.

A series of handsome plates includes several maps, photographs of localities visited by the Bartrams, and examples of "Billy's" skill as an artist. Chief in popular interest among these, perhaps, is the drawing of the "Alegator of St. Johns," representing this "terrable monster" as it bellows in the spring season.

Scientific and biographic works are all too frequently designated as "definitive"; certainly no better use of this much abused epithet can be invoked than to apply it in its fullest sense to the work here reviewed. The Bartrams have found their interpreter!

John M. Fogg, Jr.

University of Pennsylvania

BRIEFER NOTICES

By Henry J. Cadbury

AMONG the papers published by the American Philosophical Society apropos its bicentennial is one on "James Logan, a Colonial Mathematical Scholar and the First Copy of Newton's *Principia* to arrive in the Colony," by Frederick E. Brasch in the *Proceedings*, vol. 86 (1942-3), 3-12. James Logan (1674-1751) came upon a copy of Leyburn's *Cursus Mathematicus* as a boy and became "the first mathematical scholar in

the American Colonies" and a disciple of Newton, whom he probably met in 1724, for he attended a meeting of the Royal Society of London in that year, Newton being then president. He assembled and collected the first and finest collection of mathematical and astronomical literature in the colonies. This collection, still extant, and his letters written to William Jones, are a principal source of the technical information presented in this article.

THE "Tradition of Mary Dyer, Quaker Martyr" contributed by Mrs. Harry Clark Boden to the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register,* vol. 98 (1944), 25-28, is to the effect that she was the daughter of a secret marriage of Lady Arabella Stuart and Sir William Seymour. The article refers to correspondence with modern members of the Dyer family on the subject. See also this BULLETIN, page 34, paragraph on Quaker Research, under *William Allan Dyer.*

THE American Antiquarian Society has done Friends a service in making available for the first time in print the journal of *John Farmer's First American Journey, 1711-1714,* in its *Proceedings,* vol. 53 (1943), 79-95. Henry J. Cadbury had secured a microfilm copy of the original from England and he provided an introduction and notes. Farmer's travels extended on the mainland from Maine to North Carolina and in the Caribbean to Barbados and four of the Leeward Islands. He reports at length his contacts in preaching to the Indians. His later antislavery agitation does not appear in this document. A few reprints are available.

TO RECENT articles on Quakerism in popular magazines has been added one in *Liberty* for October 30, 1943, pp. 16, 17, 67, 68, entitled "They Call Themselves Friends—and Mean It!" by Mona Gardner.

THE NEW biography of *William Smith, Educator and Churchman, 1727-1803,* by A. F. Gegenheimer (Philadelphia, Univ. of Penna. Press, 1943, 233 pp.) would be valuable to any historian of Quakerism in the Quaker City. Though a clergyman he was vigorously engaged in politics and active in the attempt to exclude Quakers from the Pennsylvania legislature in 1755-56. He was however, a friend of Benjamin West, who is frequently mentioned in this volume.

"FIGHTING QUAKERS" by E. Stanton Hodgin in *Unity,* vol. 129 (1944), 174 f., is a defense against the criticism by John Haynes Holmes of those Quakers who are supporting this war, in part from lack of courage. The writer argues that aversion to war and effort to prevent it is not inconsistent with a different policy when war has come, and that "it often takes more courage to abandon a dogma than to stand by it."

A LETTER by Whittier recommending abolitionists to back David L. Child for congress in 1834 is among recent acquisitions of the Boston Public Library and published in its *More Books,* vol. 18 (1943), 432-33. He was the husband of the abolitionist and writer Maria L. Child.

THOUGH not a Friend, "Captain Nathaniel Batts of Roanoke," mentioned in Fox's *Journal,* has bothered all historians who have tried to place him. It is therefore worth noting that on the basis of an early map and other records, W. P. Cumming has been able to collect a good deal of evidence about him, writing on "The Earliest Permanent Settlement in Carolina: Nathaniel Batts and the Comberford Map" in *American Historical Review,* vol. 45 (1939), 82-89.

FOLLOWING an article by the same author on the same subject in the *Proceedings* of another society (see this BULLETIN, 31:96), Julian P. Boyd in an article in the *Proceedings* of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 87 (1943), 47-50, deals with "Horatio Gates Spafford, Precursor of Bessemer."

WRITING in the *New England Quarterly,* vol. 17 (1944), 95-101, Mary C. Turpie finds "A Quaker Source for Emerson's Sermon on the Lord's Supper" in Clarkson's *Portraiture of Quakerism.* She shows point by point how the source is followed and she illustrates with parallel passages printed side by side. Emerson's dependence is further confirmed by the fact that the circulation records of the Boston Athenaeum show that he took out the work of Clarkson a few weeks before giving the sermon. The proof appears to be convincing.

CORNELL University: Founders and the Founding, by Carl L. Becker (Cornell University Press, 1943, 240 pp.), naturally has much to say about Ezra Cornell, who was a birthright Friend, but married out. One whole chapter (iii) deals with his life before he made his fortune and endowed the new University. This fortune was made not by the profits of the telegraph lines that he built or operated at a loss, but by the gradual absorption of others with it into the Western Union, which now in 1944 has finally disposed of its one remaining rival. There is a portrait from a photograph of 1870, and several letters from his correspondence are published for the first time. There is much about his Quaker background in another document (pp. 180-187), the recollections of Otis E. Wood, his brother-in-law.

ONE of the most spectacular of the forms of detached service of Conscientious Objectors under Civilian Public Service is fire fighting by parachute. The work of these "smoke jumpers" is described by Edmund J. Kerr in *American Forests,* vol. 49 (1943), 431-433, 462, under the title "Sky-Fighters of the Forest."

GRAY Ridge, The Book of Francis Howgill, written and compiled by Will Hayes (Meopham Green, Kent, 1942, 112 pp.), is an attractive study of one of the First Publishers of Truth, more than half of it being selections from his writings. His career is told again with such details as are known. Seven of the illustrations are from water-color paintings by William Manners and deal with Grayrigg, Todthorne, Firbank Fell, and Sunny Bank.

THE late Mary Agnes Best wrote at the time of the Rhode Island Tercentenary a book about Westerly which has now been published under the title *The Town that Saved a State* (Westerly, R. I., The Utter Co., 283 pp.). Since Friends have played such an important part in the history both of the Colony and of the town, there is much reference to them collectively and individually in this book. For example see Index, *s.v. Perry.*

THE Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, vol. 53 (1944), 55-60, has an article by its editor Harlow Lindley on "Thomas Beals, First Friends Minister in Ohio." The subject of this sketch, who was born in Chester County, Pennsylvania, 1719, and died in 1801 near Richmondale, Ross County, Ohio, illustrates by his many migrations, by his energy in behalf of new Friends' meetings, and by his concern for the Indians the life of many Quaker families who settled in the Old Northwest. Reprints are available.

NEW York History, vol. 25 (1944), 54-63, has an account of the visit to New York of the German Grand Duke Bernhard of the House of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, translated and annotated by Greta G. Hughes and Richard Owen. The visitor was escorted by the Quaker Thomas Eddy to his home, and to charitable institutions in which Eddy was especially interested—the lunatic asylum, the art gallery of the philosophical society, and the American Bible Society—and finally was encouraged to become a Quaker himself by the presentation of an account of Thomas Lurting and of a copy in German of Barclay's *Apology.*

THE famous words of James Nayler (1616-1660), often called his dying words, beginning, "There is a spirit which I feel that delights to do no evil," have been divided into twenty-six phrases and each made the subject of one sonnet in a garland called "The Nayler Sonnets," by Kenneth Boulding, and privately reproduced by mimeograph.

AN ARTICLE describing especially "The Work of the Friends War Victims Relief Committee" in England from September 1940 to December 1941, written by Roger C. Wilson, was published in *Social Work,* January, 1942, pp. 114-122.

AN illustrated article entitled "'Post-warriors' Prepare," appearing in the weekly Canadian periodical *Saturday Night* for July 24, 1943, tells of postwar planning of Friends.

"SILVERSMITHS of New Jersey, 1623-1800," by Julia Sabine, in *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society,* vol. 61 (1943), 145-176 and 249-271, includes at least one Friend, Isaac Pearson of Burlington, who died in 1748-49 (254-255), leaving his tools to his son-in-law, Thomas Rodman. Was the latter also a Friend?

THEODORE THAYER has written in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* vol. 67 (1943), 356-376, an appraisal of "The Friendly Association" of Pennsylvania. He calls it "from first to last essentially Israel Pemberton's organization, designed to carry out various reforms in Indian affairs and to offer the Quakers an opportunity to recover political leadership." The essay is obviously a by-product of the author's biography of Pemberton, just published. He recognizes the idealism of the Friends who carried the Association on, but criticizes their pacifism and believes these factors "led them unwittingly to provoke an unjust charge against the Proprietors. Less apology can be offered for their part in feeding the fires of Provincial political discord."

WYLIE SYPHER'S book, *Guinea's Captive Kings: British Anti-Slavery Literature of the xviiith Century* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1942, 340 pp.), is more important for its background for Quaker history than for its reference to the Quaker antislavery movement. The latter would have featured more largely if Benezet and Woolman had lived in England and if Wilberforce and Clarkson had been Friends. The plan of the book also regards literature as consisting of *belles lettres*—verse, drama, fiction—rather than of newspapers, pamphlets, or essays. The author further admits that this study is far from complete. He evidently has not used all the older or any of the new Quaker writings regarding the subject. It is, however, an interesting and well written treatment of the current thoughts in men's minds when the slave trade was being debated in England and America.

NO EFFORT is made in these notices to list the many current publications of the American Friends Service Committee, though they each have some historic interest. An important bibliographical pamphlet about them may be mentioned, viz., *List of Publications* (Haverford, Pennsylvania, 1942, 24 pp.). It covers the years 1917-1941, both the numbered Bulletins, Nos. 1-192, and more than five hundred unnumbered Bulletins. I understand that quite complete files of these and later items are now deposited in the College Libraries of Bryn Mawr, Harvard, Haverford, and Swarthmore.

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